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CAREER PATTERNS OF BALLARD-HUDSON HIGH SCHOOL
TEACHERS, MACON, GEORGIA

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CORNELL EDWARD BRUMFIELD

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Work has always been a major preoccupation of man. Most of his waking hours have revolved around the struggle to produce and sustain himself and his family. This struggle has been the source of much of his happiness and despair. Both personal satisfaction and efficient production are mutually interdependent in work activity. Neither of these ends is possible without recognizing the total social situation in which people find themselves. The sociology of work is a study of the interrelations between work and the social milieu in which the worker moves.¹

It is unfortunate that most of the research in industrial sociology has been done on the factory. This has led to a semantic problem -- that of identifying research on the factory with industrial sociology. Many individuals are now prone to look at the factory as the main locus of work. The fact is that not more than one-quarter of the workers in the United States are employed in factories.²

The word "industrial" used in its broader meaning refers to all forms of economic activity, including financial,

¹ Delbert C. Miller and William H. Form, Industrial Sociology (New York, 1951), p. 1.

² Ibid., p. ix.

commercial, productive, and professional enterprises. Industrial sociology includes the study of occupations, and all the social groups that affect work behavior. The field, so conceived, investigates the interrelationships between the work behavior of the individual and the other aspects of his social behavior. No hard and fast lines can be drawn between work, play, worship, and family living. What the worker encounters in the social environment of his work has significance for him not only on the job but also for his participation within the local community. His family, his church, and his club all feel¹ the repercussions of habits and attitudes acquired at work.

The description of the social character of specific jobs has lagged behind technical description. We have been taught during most of our lives to think about jobs as technical² skills. Thus, an engineer is regarded as one who learns engineering techniques; a carpenter as one who has acquired specialized woodworking skills; and, a physician as one who has mastered medicine. Even the college professor is considered as a person who reads books, talks about them abstrusely, and spends a great deal of time doing research within the confines of his office and laboratory. Yet, underneath the flow of work behavior there is an unending struggle for self-expression and security. Such is the social setting of our time that no work

¹ Ibid., p. 8.

² Ibid., p. 23.

plant can escape the insecurities of the larger society.

The tremendous waste due to labor turnover, transfer, and absenteeism may be partly accounted for by the ignorance of the social setting, as men and jobs are improperly matched. Such recognition of the social skills necessary for work as does exist is usually expressed in statements like, "You have to be able to get along with people in that job," or "I like the job because it gives me a chance to get away from a desk and meet people." These folk observations reveal a sensitivity to the social characteristics required in some occupations but certainly do not describe the pattern of social relations which compose the social milieu within which each occupation is set. The social environment of a job requires adjustments from each person who undertakes the responsibilities of the work.¹ It can be understood that these social environments are characterized by great diversity, not only between occupations, but,² within the same occupation.

During the past twenty-five years sociologists have been building a growing body of literature in the sociology of work. Attempts have been made to determine what it is that induces people to enter into a given occupation, aside from social background which, when investigated, sometimes indicates an effect

¹ Willard Waller, The Sociology of Teaching (New York, 1932), p. 203.

² Ibid., p. 205.

upon the occupational choices of the workers.

One procedure for studying a work group is somewhat as follows: A sample of workers in an occupation or profession is carefully selected at all stages and ages in their occupational careers. Extensive case histories are gathered which provide many clues and insights toward understanding the particular work group. From these data the social characteristics of the workers are described. This is followed by an analysis of the career patterns of the group.² This study proposes to investigate the career patterns of a selected group of professional high school teachers, using the sociology of work approach and the general research instrument described above.

The Problem

The central purposes of this study are three: (1) to describe and explain the career patterns involved in the teaching profession, as seen in the materials descriptive of a group of Negro teachers in a Georgia urban community; (2) to obtain some measure of job stability and job security; and, (3) to uncover the selective processes that operate in the cases of these teachers.

The related questions which served as a basis for the collection and analysis of the data are:

1

Miller and Form, op. cit., p. 26.

2

Ibid., p. 660.

1. What are the age, sex, marital status and socio-economic characteristics of the group of workers?
2. What is the nature of their job histories in reference to occupational mobility, job security and length of service?
3. What are some of the characteristic features of their occupational selection?
4. What are the expressed factors which induced them to enter and remain in the profession?
5. What compensations and rewards do they anticipate?
6. What significant relationships are there between specific socio-economic characteristics and career patterns and adjustment to the profession?

Data and Method

The subjects chosen for study are a group of fifty-two teachers of Ballard-Hudson Senior High School for Negro students in Macon, Bibb County, Georgia. According to the United States Bureau of Census, Macon has a population of 113,533, of which ¹45,313 are Negroes. Macon, "the heart of Georgia," serves middle Georgia as a trading and shopping center for a radius of fifty miles. The city is the hub of production in a territory which operates three million spindles, more than fifty-five thousand looms and which has a cotton output of fifty-five ²million dollars annually in manufacturers' volume.

¹
U. S. Bureau of Census, Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Population, II (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1943), 218.

²
p. 4. Macon Chamber of Commerce Bulletin, 1948 Report (Georgia),

Macon offers a variety of jobs for both skilled and semi-skilled workers who are to be found in thirteen textile mills, four railroad companies, twenty-one lumber mills, one cork plant, one lard and soap factory, one tannery, one flour mill, two brick yards, and in large numbers at one Army Air Force Base. Aside from teaching, the bulk of the income for Negroes is derived from the Air Base where Negroes are employed in various tasks, from clerks to janitors; consequently, this expanded work program, during and since the war, has lured hundreds of families to settle in or near this city.

Of the approximately six hundred teachers employed in the Macon Public School System, two hundred and thirty-two are Negroes who are distributed among ten elementary schools, one junior high and one senior high schools. Ballard-Hudson, the senior high school, has the largest teaching staff of Negroes, fifty-two in number; twenty-seven are female and twenty-five are male.

The physical plant at this school consists of seven brick structures, having thirty-one classrooms, two science laboratories, a food laboratory, clothing laboratory, a combined gymnasium-auditorium, cafeteria, mechanical drawing room, and shops for carpentry, commercial, laundering, brick masonry, auto mechanics and vocational agriculture. The twelve hundred and forty students enrolled here are classified from ninth through twelfth grades.

The basic data for this study were collected from the fifty-

two Ballard-Hudson Senior High School teachers. The main data-gathering instrument was a schedule designed to secure the necessary data descriptive of the following social characteristics of teachers: age, sex, certain features of family background, education of themselves and of other members of the family, and occupation. These data were collected in order to examine the relationships between them and the occupational choices of the individuals.

A personal data sheet was used in order to gain information about the adjustment problems of these teachers. The schedule and data sheet were also used to obtain job histories, from which the professional career patterns were abstracted. The various job sequences were examined for occupational stability and security, an operational definition of the concepts used.

The data received from each subject were organized and presented in tables to facilitate analysis and interpretation, a description of which is in Chapters II and III.

1

Following Miller and Form¹, it was assumed that a worker on any job for a period less than three years was being relatively unstable and insecure. Further, it was assumed that occupational stability was indicated when a worker remained for more than three years on a given job, and that this stability would reflect occupational security. These assumptions enabled the writer to find patterns, and to make generalizations

1

Miller and Form, op. cit., p. 720.

concerning occupational security.

Data on excerpts of the work situation and/or rewards and satisfactions were recorded in the field notes which were by-products of interviews with each subject. These data revealed perspectives and the course of social relationships in various teaching situations.

Pertinent Literature

According to Everett C. Hughes, it is not surprising that the sociologists who study people at work should call themselves "industrial sociologists":

The comparison of occupations without regard for conventional categories may sharpen out sensitivity to certain problems which we might otherwise overlook. Almost any occupation is a good laboratory animal for some aspect of work control, organization or culture. It may disclose easily some aspect which is hidden in other cases, or it may show in developed form something which is incipient in others.²

Moving along in this same vein, he further indicates that in the social drama of most kinds of work, people interact in several established roles. People in each category have their own conceptions of their interests, rights, and duties toward one another and toward people in other categories. With reference to methodology, he suggests:

It is of importance for the understanding of human

¹

Ibid., p. 721.

²

Everett C. Hughes, "The Sociological Study of Work," The American Journal of Sociology, LVII (March, 1952), 425.

work -- in the industrial and in other settings -- that we develop a set of problems and processes applicable to the whole range of cases. The terms of describing these problems and processes can be got by comparison of the work drama in various occupations . . . in so studying work, we are not merely applying sociology to work, we are studying work by sociological methods. We do not learn our method in some pure or generalized society or part of society and then apply it and the findings to industry, crime or religion. Rather, we study group life and process where they occur, learning our method and developing our knowledge of society as we go. We may learn about society by studying industry and human work generally. In our particular society, work organization looms so large as a separate and specialized system of things, and work experience is so fateful a part of every man's life, that we cannot make much headway as students of society and of social psychology without using work as one of our main laboratories.¹

Delbert C. Miller and William Form have described some of the historical developments that demonstrated the need for a science of industrial sociology. They examined the early basic ideas which recognized work as a social reality. This work attempts to define the major areas, the concepts and the principles of this new discipline.

They furnish a conception of career patterns which has been adopted for use in the present study:

The worker plays his roles on work situations. His adjustments over a lifetime ordinarily fit a pattern. As a child he is initiated early to chores, the school, contacts with maintenance and service workers around the house and in the community, and to talk of parents and friends about work. As a youth he may secure his first part-time jobs that are rewarded with "pay." Later, he graduates to full-time work as he leaves the school and begins his search for a steady job. The period that follows is usually one of trial. Various jobs are attempted until the worker finds the position in which he finally

¹

Ibid., p. 426.

remains. Then, as he finds a permanent job and becomes an integral part of a community, he enters a period of occupational stability.¹

The three stages or periods which taken together form a career pattern are outlined by Miller and Form as follows:

(1) The Initial Work Period: all part-time or full-time jobs that an individual holds up to the time that he completes his formal education are classified as belonging in the initial work period. These jobs, often quasi-chores, are before-or-after school jobs, summer full-time jobs, or jobs taken only as stop-gaps until the completion of education. Occasionally these become regular jobs, but as a rule, they are temporary. The criterion is simply whether the job is held while the worker is pursuing his formal education.

(2) The Trial Work Period: usually after school is completed, the prospective worker "shops around" for a job. Often he is not sure of the type of job he desires, or he may be unable to secure the desired job and so takes another temporarily. Or he may have to go through a number of work experiences. This is called a trial job or trial work period. The jobs in this period usually lasts from a few days to three years. They are sometimes taken with a tacit acknowledgement by the worker that they are temporary, and not for life. Jobs are classified as trial when there is movement from one occupation or work plant to another within a three year period.

(3) The Stable Work Period: although the third period is called the "stable period," it may occur and disappear a number of times in the life of a worker. It may be experienced early or late in the work history. Indeed, some workers may never experience it. A stable job is any job on which the worker remains within a given occupation in a work plant for three or more years.²

Stuart Henderson Britt, in his Sociology of Modern Life, states that:

¹ Miller and Form, op. cit., p. 31.

² Ibid., pp. 535-36.

In a country which emphasizes equal opportunities for all, parents attempt to force their children into occupations which will advance both their economic and social status. In fact, a child of working-class parents may have feelings of guilt if he does not subscribe to the golden theory of personal progress in a material respect. This often has end results in psychological conflicts. These desires to rise in the social scheme are traceable in a large measure to the complexities of a machine civilization.¹

This statement has significance to this project, since members of this study group were influenced to go to college by parents who were working-class people.

Another view, according to Warner, Havighurst and Loeb is that:

The teaching group perpetuates itself. Teachers choose their profession, largely through a kind of informal apprenticeship. Young people do well in school; they like their teachers and they are liked by their teachers and are encouraged to go into the profession. In turn, when they become teachers, they choose others like themselves to follow in their footsteps.²

These authors further point out that "teachers are recruited largely from upper-middle and lower-middle classes."³ Over 90 per cent of the teachers in "Hometown," "Yankee City," and "Old City" were members of these two class status groups. In each of these towns studied, less than 3 per cent were "upper-

¹
Stuart Henderson Britt, Sociology of Modern Life (New York, 1943), p. 82.

²
W. Lloyd Warner, Robert J. Havighurst, Martin B. Loeb, Who Shall Be Educated? (New York, 1944), p. 108.

³
Ibid.

upper," consequently, teachers representing middle-class attitudes also enforce middle-class values and manners.

Work problems arise in the teacher's relations with children, parents, principal, and other teachers. Accordingly, Howard S. Becker states:

The career patterns which are to be found in this social matrix are not typical of all career movements. . . . It is likely that their presence will be limited to occupational organizations which, like the Chicago School System, are impersonal and bureaucratic and in which mobility is accomplished primarily through the manipulation of formal procedures.¹

Willard Waller made a sociological analysis of the social system of teaching. He pointed out the features in the social process of teaching and the teacher's life situation which are important in determining the distinctive behavior of the teacher. He developed a personality profile of the teacher based upon documents, case studies and participant observation.²

As an answer to the question: what rewards do teachers seek to obtain from the teaching profession?, Kimble Wiles concludes that they want satisfaction and security, in the following manner:

A teacher who was offered a position paying thirty per cent more turned it down with the reply, "No, I would rather stay in my present position with a lower salary. There are so many satisfactions in my job that I don't

¹ Howard S. Becker, "The Career of the Chicago School Teacher," The American Journal of Sociology, LVII (March, 1952), 472.

² Waller, op. cit., p. 147.

1
want to leave it."

During Wiles' four-year investigation of this problem, one thousand members of twenty-five discussion groups of graduate students studying supervision listed most frequently the following job satisfactions as the ones they wanted as teachers: sense of belonging, security and a comfortable living, pleasant working conditions, fair treatment, a sense of achievement and growth, recognition of contribution, participation in deciding policy, and opportunity to maintain self-respect.

In this same connection, Whiting Williams asserts that in collective dealing, whatever the particular form, the worker, if he is young, wants a larger opportunity to show what he can do, with the assurance that it will get him some kind of proportionate recognition. If he is old, he wants a larger security for the holding of his job and his place in the line of job importances and standings. In both connections, he has something to give in return for these gains.²

William Foote Whyte has made a study of the restaurant industry which gives a picture of the social interaction of waiters on the job and its psychological consequences.³ This

¹ Kimball Wiles, Supervision for Better Schools. (New York, 1950), p. 86.

² Whiting Williams, What's on The Worker's Mind? (New York, 1920), p. 314.

³ William Foote Whyte, Human Problems of the Restaurant Industry (New York, 1948).

is another example of an occupational group being studied. Many other interesting groups have been studied, among them are: the academic man¹; hobo²; taxi dance hall³; railroader⁴; saleslady⁵; and waitress⁶. Since industry brings together workers from all social classes, knowledge in this area is necessary background for the study of social life within the work plant society. The way in which industry functions influences the daily lives of the local inhabitants. Other institutions within the community -- government, schools, the family, and the church -- also alter industrial life and play an important role in shaping community attitudes toward industry.

¹ Logan Wilson, The Academic Man (New York, 1942).

² M. Anderson, The Hobo (Chicago, 1923).

³ Paul Cressey, The Taxi Dance Hall (Chicago, 1932).

⁴ W. Fred Cottrell, The Railroader (Los Angeles, 1939).

⁵ R. G. Badger, The Saleslady (Chicago, 1929).

⁶ F. D. Donovan, The Waitress (Chicago, 1929).

CHAPTER II

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF TEACHERS

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the social and economic background of fifty-two Ballard-Hudson High School teachers. The materials shown indicate some of the salient characteristics of Negro teachers as a group in this setting; and they suggest the operation of selective factors. These characteristics have relevance for the behavior of teachers, interrelations among them, technical efficiency, expectations, and the social climate.

Age and Sex Distribution

The first consideration is the age distribution of the fifty-two teachers used as subjects in this study. Table 1, below, presents the distribution of the ages and shows that the ages of these teachers range from twenty to fifty-nine years; however, seven out of ten are clustered between twenty-five and forty years of age. Five or ten per cent of the teachers are below twenty-five; and eleven or about twenty per cent are above forty years of age.

The data show that these teachers tend to be concentrated in what is conventionally thought of as the most productive age group. On the whole, they are a relatively young group. The median age is about thirty-three and they would presumably be in the early or middle stages of their professional careers. This is demonstrated by our data which indicate that the median

TABLE 1

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF FIFTY-TWO BALLARD-HUDSON
HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS, MACON, GEORGIA, 1952

Age Range	Total
20-24	5
25-29	14
30-34	12
35-39	10
40-44	5
45-49	5
50-54	-
55-59	1
Total	52

number of years taught for the group is about ten.

Miller and Form suggest that, "Since professional work requires much more time for formal education, and since skilled labor requires much experience . . . their members¹ tend to be middle-aged."

The population is about equally divided according to sex: There are twenty-five males and twenty-seven females. Public school teaching has traditionally engaged a larger number of women than men. These data suggest that the sex gap, particularly at the high school level, is closing. In the local situation, the principal has consciously sought to recruit larger numbers of male teachers. The age differences between

¹

Miller and Form, op. cit., p. 620.

the sex groups do not appear too significant, with one exception; a slightly larger proportion of the female teachers are over forty.

Eighteen, or not quite three out of four of the males are between twenty-five and forty; or two, or about one in fourteen are less than twenty-five; and seven, or one in four are above forty.

TABLE 2

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF TWENTY-FIVE MALE BALLARD-HUDSON
HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS, MACON, GEORGIA, 1952

Age Range	Number of Males
20-24	3
25-29	5
30-34	6
35-39	7
40-44	3
45-49	1
50-54	-
55-59	-
Total	25

Eighteen, or ten out of three of the females are between twenty-five and forty; two, or about one in fourteen are less than twenty-five; and seven, or one in four are above forty.

These data do not, in this instance, support the proposition that female teachers enter the profession in larger numbers and at earlier ages than do male teachers. However,

there may be local or adventitious factors operating in the case of the Macon Negro high school teachers.

TABLE 3

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF TWENTY-SEVEN FEMALE BALLARD-HUDSON
HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS, MACON, GEORGIA, 1952

Age Range	Number of Females
20-24	2
25-29	9
30-34	6
35-39	3
40-44	2
45-49	4
50-54	-
55-59	1
Total	27

Household Status

Data on the household status of the fifty-two Ballard-Hudson High School teachers are presented in Table 4, page 19. Household status refers to the relationship to the person who is the head of the house, and/or the chief "breadwinner."

Twenty-three, or nearly one-half of the subjects are heads of households; ten, or one in five are wives of heads of households; seven, or one in seven are sons; and twelve, or nearly one in four are daughters of heads of households. Of these teachers who are heads of households, men predominate; three-fourths of those who are heads are males. Daughters, in relation to the household, are more numerous than sons.

TABLE 4

HOUSEHOLD STATUS BY SEX OF FIFTY-TWO BALLARD-HUDSON
HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS, MACON, GEORGIA, 1952

Household Status	Male	Female	Total
Head	18	5	23
Wife	--	10	10
Daughter	--	12	12
Son	7	--	7
Total	25	27	52

The figures might suggest that when a man enters into the teaching profession, it is also likely that he becomes head of the household. In the same vein, a good proportion of the female teachers in the sample represent what might be termed supplementary incomes.

Marital Status

The data on the marital status of the fifty-two high school teachers are presented in Table 5.

Four out of five, or approximately 42 per cent of the total number of subjects have never married; twenty-six, exactly 50 per cent of the total number of subjects are now married. One-third of the males have never married; but one-half of the females have never married.

The data on the ages of thirty-one high school teachers, at the time of marriage, are shown in Table 6. For these thirty-one teachers, four age ranges were established, from

TABLE 5

MARITAL STATUS OF FIFTY-TWO BALLARD-HUDSON
HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS, MACON, GEORGIA, 1952

Marital Status	Male	Female	Total
Never married	8	14	22
Married	16	10	26
Divorced	1	1	2
Widowed	--	2	2
Total	25	27	52

TABLE 6

DISTRIBUTION OF AGE AT MARRIAGE, BY SEX, OF
THIRTY-ONE BALLARD-HUDSON HIGH SCHOOL
TEACHERS, MACON, GEORGIA, 1952

Age at Marriage	Male	Female	Total
16-20	-	2	2
21-25	6	9	15
26-30	9	2	11
31-35	2	1	3
Total	17	14	31

sixteen to thirty-five years inclusive. Those thirtyone teachers, who are married, widowed, or divorced, represent about 58 per cent of the total sample of subjects used for this study.

Approximately one-half of the total group got married before twenty-five; however, about 60 per cent of the females

but only one-third of the males got married before twenty-five. These findings might indicate the following trends: That because more females were married between twenty-one and twenty-five, women tend to seek an early marriage; that men preferably wait for later age, but that they maintain their chances of getting married, even about or after the age of thirty-five, as shown in Table 6; wherein two, or 12 per cent of the males were married between the ages of thirty-one and thirty-five, only one, or 8 per cent of the females were married at the same age.

Place of Birth

Table 7 presents the data on the distribution of birthplace by states of the fifty-two Ballard-Hudson High School teachers, according to sex.

These data show that the diversity of origin among the fifty-two Ballard-Hudson High School teachers is very great. First, to be pointed out, is that two-thirds of the teachers in this sample were born in Georgia. The remaining one-third of the sample are distributed among ten states. Of the eleven states represented, eight, or approximately three-fourths are southern states.

Educational Attainment of Fathers and Siblings

The data on the grade levels attained by the fathers of the subjects are shown in Table 8. Fifty per cent of the fathers had had some training beyond high school; one in five had finished college.

TABLE 7

DISTRIBUTION OF BIRTHPLACES, BY STATES, OF FIFTY-TWO
BALLARD-HUDSON HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS, MACON,
GEORGIA, 1952, ACCORDING TO SEX

States	Male	Female	Total
Georgia	17	18	35
North Carolina	2	2	4
South Carolina	2	1	3
Tennessee	1	-	1
New Jersey	1	-	1
Michigan	1	-	1
Florida	-	1	1
Alabama	-	3	3
Kentucky	1	-	1
Pennsylvania	-	1	1
Virginia	1	-	1
Total	25	27	52

Table 9 reveals the grade levels attained by the siblings of the fifty-two Ballard-Hudson High School teachers. Whereas the median grade level of the fathers is slightly more than twelve, the median grade level for the siblings is fourteen. These data indicate that not only does status of the family in education influence the attainments of the sons and daughters, but wherein the parents have received some formal training, the children will possibly receive the necessary financial support to attain high educational levels, which sometimes is a more deciding factor in the educational advance of the children than the ability of the children themselves.

It might be suggested that because the majority of these

TABLE 8

DISTRIBUTION OF EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENTS OF THE FATHERS
OF FIFTY-TWO BALLARD-HUDSON HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS,
MACON, GEORGIA, 1952

Grade Levels	Fathers
0- 1	--
2- 3	--
4- 5	--
6- 7	2
8- 9	4
10-11	11
12-13	13
14-15	12
16-or over	10
Total	52

TABLE 9

DISTRIBUTION OF EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENTS OF THE FATHERS
AND SIBLINGS OF FIFTY-TWO BALLARD-HUDSON HIGH SCHOOL
TEACHERS, MACON, GEORGIA, 1952

Grade Level of Fathers	Grade Levels Attained by Children									Total
	0-1	2-3	4-5	6-7	8-9	10-11	12-13	14-15	16-over	
0- 1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2- 3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4- 5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6- 7	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	2	2	7
8- 9	-	-	-	1	2	3	2	1	8	17
10-11	-	-	-	6	9	4	7	1	16	43
12-13	-	-	-	8	-	2	11	4	23	48
14-15	-	-	-	4	6	5	6	8	15	44
16-over	-	-	-	3	3	3	4	3	12	28
Total	-	-	-	23	20	18	31	19	66	187

fathers reached the college grade levels, they were better able to enlarge the possibilities for the preparation of these sons and daughters to enter the teaching profession.

This interpretation does not discount human ability or individual attributes, among other socio-economic levels; fathers occupations; intelligence; fathers incomes and education; financial and influential contacts; social and economic levels; as reasons for these fifty-two subjects having entered the teaching profession. Rather, the educational levels attained by these fathers further suggest that intertwined with the opportunity provided by the family is the occupational outlook which the child acquires. According to Miller and Form, "This outlook, (in this study being the chosen career pattern), is a function of expectation built and nourished within his social background."¹ Therefore, the educational background of the family becomes important in molding the career pattern as selected by the children.

Then, it is reasonable to assume that there is a high relationship between the education of the parents and the occupational aspirations and attainments of their sons and daughters.

A Pennsylvania survey suggests that the majority of upper socio-economic groups usually graduate from high school, and a reasonable percentage of them also attend college, whereas only a reasonable percentage of children from the lower economic

¹

Miller and Form, op. cit., p. 728

group graduate from high school, and a small percentage ever¹ attend college.

Since the elementary-trained group usually constitute the manual laborers, these data may further mean that less opportunity is available to those children from families of this group, although the students may sometimes equal other children in intellectual ability.

Occupations of Fathers

Table 10 shows the occupational distributions of the fathers of the fifty-two Ballard-Hudson High School teachers, and the number of sons and daughters possessed by each group of fathers. The occupational groupings presented in this table are: the professionals, the farmers, clerical workers, craftsmen, common laborers, and domestic workers.

The table shows that the professional, clerical and domestic worker categories are equally represented with ten fathers each. Thirteen, or one in four of the fathers are on the laborer or domestic service level.

On the basis of the available data, also showing the number of sons and daughters among whom are the fifty-two subjects now in the teaching profession, the following are suggested trends: that children of fathers of the same occupation, and often children of the same family are dispersed among the

¹ Harlan Updegraff, "Inventory of Youth in Pennsylvania," American Youth Commission, American Council on Education, 1936.

TABLE 10

DISTRIBUTION OF THE OCCUPATIONAL GROUPINGS OF THE FATHERS
OF FIFTY-TWO BALLARD-HUDSON HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS,
MACON, GEORGIA, 1952, AND THE NUMBER OF
CHILDREN POSSESSED BY EACH GROUP

Occupation	Fathers	Males	Females	Total
Professional	10	17	11	28
Farmers	5	6	18	24
Clerical	10	18	21	39
Craftsmen	14	14	20	34
Laborers	3	5	4	9
Domestic Workers	10	23	30	53
Total	52	83	104	187

different occupational groups; that in spite of the dispersion among different occupations, transmission of occupation still exists. It is likely also that the fathers' occupation is still entered by the children in a greater proportion than any other.

The data further suggest that in the environment from which this sample was taken, each class draws heavily upon the offspring, as for example, the professionals, clerical, and domestic workers in this study. These data indicate that the occupational level is influenced significantly by the occupational status of fathers and the family environment.

Some of the salient characteristics of this group of Negro teachers have been indicated and the operation of age, sex, marital status, family background, and occupation as selective

factors, has been pointed out. The ages of this sample ranged from twenty to fifty-nine years; however, seven out of ten were distributed between twenty-five and forty years of age. Five, or 10 per cent of the teachers were below twenty-five and eleven, or about 20 per cent were above forty years of age.

These teachers were on the whole a relatively young group. The median age was about thirty-three and they were presumably in the early or middle stages of their careers.

The population was about equally divided by sex: there were twenty-five males and twenty-seven females. The age difference between the sexes did not appear significant, with one exception, a slightly larger proportion of the female teachers were over forty.

The data for this local situation did not support the proposition that more female teachers enter the profession than male teachers. Twenty-three or nearly one-half of the subjects were heads of households. Of those who were heads of households men predominated: three-fourths of those who were heads were males. Daughters in relation to household status were more numerous than sons.

Exactly one-half of the teachers were married, but one-half of the females had never been married and one-third of the males had never been married. Approximately one-half of the total group had married before the age of twenty-five, however, about 60 per cent of the females, but only one-third of the males got married before twenty-five. Two thirds of the teachers were

born in Georgia. Fifty per cent of the fathers had received some training beyond high school and one in four had finished college.

CHAPTER III

JOB HISTORIES AND THE WORK SITUATION

This chapter has three objectives: the first is to examine the expressed motivations that affected entrance into and continuation in the teaching profession; second, an attempt is made to describe selected characteristics of the teaching career; and third, an analysis of job history data concerning the fifty-two Ballard-Hudson High School teachers is to be attempted in order to get a measure of job security and a designation of the total career pattern.

Entrance Motivations

When the respondents were asked the question, "Why did you choose teaching as a career?", a variety of responses were given. They are summarized in Table 11.

Of the seven major reasons cited for entering the profession, love for children was cited twelve times, or nearly one-third of the total, while the desire to make a contribution to the race was cited almost as frequently, eleven times.

Only four, or about one in twelve of the subjects stated financial rewards as their reason for entering the profession; six, or about one in eight of the subjects indicated a desire for social prestige. A similar number, seven, or thirteen per cent of the subjects chose the profession because of the appeal of pleasant working conditions, and three, or six per cent of the subjects indicated the lack of a more appealing vocation as

their reason for choosing the teaching profession. Nine, or one in six of the subjects indicated their desire to make a contribution to the profession as their motivating factor.

TABLE 11

DISTRIBUTION OF ENTRANCE MOTIVATIONS OF
FIFTY-TWO BALLARD-HUDSON HIGH SCHOOL
TEACHERS, MACON, GEORGIA, 1952

Reasons	Number
Love for Children	12
To Make Contribution to Race	11
To Make Contribution to Profession	9
Pleasant Working Conditions	7
Social Prestige	6
Financial Returns	4
Lack of Something More Appealing	3
Total	52

According to these expressed motives, one might surmise that most of this group of teachers are impelled by high ideals related to service and the professional code. The more crass, practical, or negative versions -- such as money, accident, etc. -- are given less frequently. There is a chance that the "high ideals" were overstated because in the context of our society and the profession, they are "expected" answers. The table further shows that few teachers choose to do so for the lack of other vocations or occupations that are more appealing.

Table 12 summarizes sex differences in the explicit reasons for entering the profession.

TABLE 12

DISTRIBUTION OF THE ENTRANCE MOTIVATIONS, BY SEX,
OF FIFTY-TWO BALLARD-HUDSON HIGH SCHOOL
TEACHERS, MACON, GEORGIA, 1952

Reasons	Male	Female	Total
Love for Children	4	8	12
To Make Contribution to Race	7	4	11
To Make Contribution to Profession	8	1	9
Pleasant Working Conditions	2	5	7
Social Prestige	1	5	6
Financial Returns	2	2	4
Lack of Something More Appealing	1	2	3
Total	25	27	52

Two each of the males and females said they were motivated primarily by financial returns. Only one of the twenty-five males said he was motivated by social prestige; but five of the twenty-seven females replied thus. Four of the males chose teaching because of their love for children, while eight or twice as many of the females chose to teach for this reason. Seven, or 28 per cent of the males said they were motivated to teach by the desire to make a contribution to the race, as compared with four or about 15 per cent of the females who replied thus. Finally, eight, or one-third of the males said they chose teaching because of a desire to make a contribution to the teaching profession, as compared with only one of the females expressing this reason.

These results suggest that within any similar

teaching situation, one might assume that a very low percentage of male, as compared with a comparatively large percentage of female teachers, had been motivated to choose teaching because there were not more appealing fields of labor to enter. The fact that even this small percentage made this indication might suggest the lack of proper guidance on the college level. On the other hand, it may suggest the relative absence of a market for certain kinds of professionally trained labor, therefore some individuals are forced into the profession as an alternative.

These data further indicate that a small percentage of both male and female teachers said they were motivated to enter the teaching profession for financial returns or monetary rewards, while the overwhelming majority were influenced by the intangible desires to aid humanity. These findings are contrary to the beliefs of many laymen, "teachers only look forward to pay day."

Characteristics of the Teaching Career

Many insights into the characteristics of teaching were obtained from the teachers as they related their personal teaching experiences during the course of guided interviews. These teachers were encouraged to speak at length, about individual teaching experiences. These experiences were recorded and excerpts from a number of them are transcribed below:

The career pattern of respondent A, a twenty-five year old male from the local community, exhibits appreciable vertical mobility.

When I completed my high school career, I had a determination to go on to college, even though I did not have the necessary funds. I was fortunate enough to secure a scholarship to Talladega College. Once enrolled in this institution I worked hard to make my own way with the assistance of my widowed mother. Each Summer I worked and saved my money in order to go to college in the Fall. Oh yes, I remember my first job quite distinctly. I worked for three months at Mangles Dress Shop here in Macon. I received \$16.00 per month. This was in 1943. My other Summers were spent in resort towns and northern beaches where tips were very good. Asbury Park, N. J., and Summerfield, N. Y., are ideal places for school boys to work. There were two influences which prompted me to go to college. One was my family and the other was my aspirations to become a professional man. I had not planned to teach school, however. I had planned to become a doctor, therefore I majored in Biology and minored in Chemistry. When I graduated from Talladega College in 1950 I applied to Howard University to enter the School of Medicine but I could not get in at the time as they were overcrowded. This is my first teaching position and I enjoy the work. I really chose teaching because it was the most appealing job I could obtain. I enjoy the pleasant working conditions and the contact which it affords. I do feel that my status has been enhanced by teaching. I am not certain whether I want to make teaching a life-long career or not. I have not been in the profession long enough to make that decision. My greatest problem is disciplining children under the democratic educational system.

1

To paraphrase Miller and Form,¹ the transition from school to work which requires thousands of young work recruits to change each year from a non-monetary to a monetary work position. For these individuals this means that the life experiences offered by such social institutions as the home and church are now supplemented by the experiences of money rewarded work. They must adjust themselves to this new environment and realize that they have inherited the status of a working adult. The

1

Miller and Form, op. cit., p. 585.

following is an example of an unstable worker who has not had time to make necessary social adjustments to his teaching environment.

The pattern of a thirty-six year old female from Virginia is marked by a high degree of horizontal mobility.

I have been teaching school for seven years and have held six different teaching positions since I have been in the teaching profession. I have taught in Pelham, Georgia, Mannassas, Virginia, Maysville, Kentucky, Alcorn, Mississippi, Fort Valley and Macon, Georgia . . . I had various reasons for changing positions so frequently. The first job I secured only paid \$57.50 per month, naturally I took the one which offered \$110.00 per month. I was forced to give this one up due to illness in my family. The next one offered more monetary rewards, which was given up in order to work in a college; this one offered only temporary employment.

Kinship, neighborhood, and friendship ties are all expected to be broken or left behind when a better paying, more "interesting," or more "important" job offer beckons. "You've got to go where you can do best." Doing one's best has come to mean "getting ahead," either in money or status.¹ When a worker moves from one position to another, people sometimes feel that his only motive is financial.

There are many who believe this question of what the workers want is ridiculously simple. They are quick to reply, "all that most workers want is the almighty dollar," The social scientist recognizes in such folk expressions a large gap between popular thinking and the facts which come out of research studies on worker motivation. The Western Electric researchers show that nonfinancial incentives rank high among the needs which workers demonstrate are important to them. The sense of belonging to a group, of feeling important and being wanted are aims written large

¹

Ibid., pp. 465-66.

over these studies. Recently Joseph Shister and Lloyd G. Reynolds of the Yale Labor and Management Center interviewed 350 manual workers in a New England city. They asked these workers who had transferred to other jobs voluntarily in the previous eighteen months what the primary source of their dissatisfaction had been. Fifteen per cent of them said they had been satisfied, but had left for a better job. In the remaining 85 per cent only 24 per cent gave wages as the cause for quitting. The causes most commonly mentioned included interest in their jobs, fairness of treatment over matters not involving wages, physical characteristics of the job, independence and control, and their relations with fellow workers. When the interviewers turned to the group of workers who were satisfied with their present jobs only 15 per cent of them mentioned.¹

The interview with the oldest of the teachers, a female of fifty-seven, suggests that teachers frequently change positions for other reasons than monetary ones:

I secured a position at Southern University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana. I enjoyed this position so perfectly that I worked there for eighteen years. The only reason for my not continuing was the illness of my mother, who is now in her eighties. I have been teaching here in Bibb County for the past eight years. I feel that I have gained status by entering the profession even though money has never been a problem in our family. I enjoy teaching and I feel that it offers the best means for self expression. My greatest problem seems to be to get students to take a wholesome interest in school work. It is so hard to make them see the importance of scholastic achievement.

These teachers have encountered many problems during their periods of adjustment. Some of these problems have had their amusing aspects, while others have been of a more serious nature. Most of their trying experiences occurred early in their teaching careers. Illustrative is the story of Miss Y, a native of the local community.

¹

Ibid.

The pattern of my teaching career has been a rugged one. But I have enjoyed each year of my experience. My first position was in a very rural setting. I lived in the home of Uncle John and Aunt Rachel, (no relation to me) along with their six children. I occupied a large, nearly bare room. Only the old-fashioned wooden bed, with its hugh straw mattress and a wash stand were in this room. There was no fireplace. I sat in the room with the family by a large open fire until time to retire each night. It was necessary to turn very often in order to keep warm on both sides, as the house contained a number of cracks. I had to walk about two miles each morning to reach the school. I was usually the first one to arrive, therefore I had to build a fire in the hugh pot-bellied stove which sat in the center of my little one-room school. After a hard day at school, I was often pretty tired, when I reached Uncle John's house. Aunt Rachel would say, "Sit right down and rest a spell Miss _____. I've been sitting right here looking out of the door to see you coming down the road before making a fire in the stove." Aunt Rachel would often hitch up the two-horse wagon and go visiting. One day she drove up to the school and called for me, "Miss _____ I'm going to the buryin'; turn out school early and start dinner for me, please."

Other teachers cited problems which confronted them during their early teaching periods. Some had problems which involved both parents and children. A forty-one year old female teacher relates:

My first year of teaching was my most difficult one. I was quite young when I began teaching and I looked even younger. It was necessary for me to wear long dresses and high-heeled shoes to appear older than the pupils, some of whom were quite older than their new teacher. One day one of the larger boys attempted to make a scene by talking back to me. He tried to bully me with his size. Although I was frightened I tried to conceal it and sent for a large hickory switch. All of the other pupils were anxious to see what was going to happen. I realized that this was my chance to make a lasting example. I whipped him severely and dared him to strike back, he didn't. As soon as I completed this task he ran out of the school room. A short time later I looked up and saw he and his father coming over the hill toward the school. The father called me out of the room and talked loud and long. By the time he finished I had decided my course of action. I told him to keep the boy at home, that I was expelling him for the

rest of the term. This really burned the old man up. He even cried, you see, the boy was supposed to graduate from the seventh grade that term. He finally went away with the boy and I went back to my teaching duties. After a while I looked out of the window and saw the boy's mother coming over the hill. Until this time I had been quite well-composed and ladylike, but when I looked out and saw the mother coming I got really mad. I was so mad I could hardly see. It just seemed that everyone was trying to run over me. By the time the mother came into the classroom I was ready for anything. I even had my little speech all made out. As she entered, she said pleasantly, "Why howdy Miss _____ may I sit down? I'm just about out of breath after pulling that hill." She sat down and started a very pleasant conversation. Well, I have never been so utterly surprised in my life. I was completely thrown off guard. By the time our conversation ended I had completely changed my mind. I allowed the boy to return to school after a few days. I never had any more trouble with him nor with any of the other children as long as I taught at this school.

Another local resident, a thirty-four year old, told of some of her early experiences and adjustment to her job.

My first job took me into a rural atmosphere, where I was paid twenty-five dollars per month. Out of this amount I managed to pay my room and board, bought clothing and sent monthly sums of money to help out at home. Seemingly I was able to do as much with that small amount as I am with my current salary, with prices as they are.

My first landlady was quite a character, she possessed a very domineering personality . . . this lady wanted to know everything which did not concern her. She felt that I must ask her to go anywhere. She wanted to know where, and how long in connection with my every move. She would get downright mad if I went out without her permission. She did washing and ironing for the people in the little mill village nearby and she expected me to help her with her washing, ironing, and cleaning.

One teacher, a thirty-three year old male and, also, a native of Macon, found himself faced with certain problems which were essentially more far-reaching than any of the ones cited heretofore:

I was the first certified science teacher to work at this particular school. The principal and I went to this

community together. The inhabitants of this small town were suspicious of "outsiders." They resented the fact that five of the teachers were from other places. The former principal lived in this community and his wife taught in the school, together they attempted to upset the entire school program. Someone always managed to report distorted facts to the Superintendent.

Another thirty-nine year old male from Georgia has encountered many problems during his long teaching career, but he took them in stride and was able to solve them successfully; an example follows:

I have been teaching for twenty-three years and I enjoy it thoroughly. I feel that I was destined to be a teacher. I have worked in many types of difficult situations: principally poor housing facilities, and very poor, or no teaching materials. These experiences were typical of the situations in Tennessee, Alabama, and Georgia, all one, three or five-teacher schools. I have taught for meager salaries, but I managed to become adjusted to these situations . . . my orientation as a teacher has been of such nature that I would not be contented with any other type of work.

Social Status in the Profession

The fifty-two Ballard-Hudson High School teachers were asked to give their reactions to the question: Was your social status altered by becoming a teacher? The results of this collective data are analyzed in Table 13.

The entries in the table below indicate that 16, or about 31 per cent of the subjects think they have gained higher status, while 36, or the remaining 69 per cent of the subjects think their status remains unchanged.

Table 14, which follows, presents the data on the responses of the fifty-two subjects in regard to their social status in relationship to teaching, according to sex.

TABLE 13

SOCIAL STATUS IN RELATIONSHIP TO TEACHING OF FIFTY-TWO BALLARD-HUDSON HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS,
MACON, GEORGIA, 1952

Reactions	Total
Gained High Status	16
Status Remained Unchanged	36
Lost Status	--
Total	52

TABLE 14

SOCIAL STATUS IN RELATIONSHIP TO TEACHING BY AGE
AND SEX OF FIFTY-TWO BALLARD-HUDSON HIGH
SCHOOL TEACHERS, MACON, GEORGIA, 1952

Age Range	Gained Status		Status Unchanged		Totals	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
20-24	-	2	3	-	3	2
25-29	-	1	5	8	5	9
30-34	3	-	2	7	5	7
35-39	4	-	4	2	8	2
40-44	-	-	3	2	3	2
45-49	-	1	1	3	1	4
50-54	-	-	-	-	-	-
55-59	-	-	-	1	-	1
Total	7	4	18	23	25	27

As exhibited in Table 14, a larger percentage of the male subjects reported a gain in social status upon entering the teaching profession; and conversely a slightly larger percentage

of the female subjects indicated that their social status remained stable on entering the teaching profession.

Differences in the responses received from the men, from that received from women, on having gained social status, indicate that men, on the whole, were probably less secure in their status backgrounds than women, and the the teaching job for men is more important status elevation.

An Analysis of Job History Data

In order to make the job history data clear and meaningful, it is necessary to classify the job histories or career patterns according to some scheme. To do this, it is necessary to view the individual jobs held by each worker in relation to his total work history. Each of the jobs held by these respondents represents a portion of their individual job or work histories. Each new job also indicates the presence of occupational mobility. There are two major types of occupational mobility shown in the occupational histories of workers. These are horizontal occupational movement and vertical occupational mobility.¹

Horizontal occupational movement refers to any job movement which involves a transition from one work position to another work position. Vertical occupational mobility refers to job movement between socio-economic levels. In other words, it means movement up or down the socio-economic ladder.

The job histories of the fifty-two Ballard-Hudson High

¹

Ibid., pp. 668-9.

School teachers will be analyzed in terms of three definable phases; the initial, the trial and the stable. Any job held up to the time a person leaves school or completes his formal training will be considered an initial job. Any job held for a period less than three years will be categorized as being a trial job. Any job held for a period of three years or more¹ will be called a stable job.

In working out these categories or patterns it is necessary to realize that all of the work performed by the particular worker forms a total configuration or design which is called a career pattern. Miller and Form define career patterns as sequences of jobs that follow some orderly development.²

Arranging and grouping the work sequences, according to these specifications, they present the following configuration:

Trial-Stable -----	17
Stable -----	13
Trial -----	8
Stable-Trial-Stable -----	6
Stable-Trial -----	5
Trial-Stable-Trial -----	2
Initial-Trial-Stable -----	1

The work histories of the fifty-two teachers fall into the seven broad, general patterns listed above. It may be noted

¹
Ibid., p. 536 .

²
Ibid.

that group 1 represents seventeen respondents. The seventeen teachers have held two types of jobs, trial and stable. The fact that the word "trial" precedes the word "stable" indicates that all trial or jobs of short duration were held previous to the present, stable job. It may be pointed out that the last job, the job in which any one of the individual teachers finds himself determine the nature of his particular pattern, that is, whether his pattern will be labeled "stable" or "unstable." Regardless of any combination of jobs which any of these teachers have held, their job status will be determined by the job which he now holds. If the teacher is found on a job which he has held for a period of three years or more, we arbitrarily assign him to a stable status, while on the other hand, if he has not worked at his present position for three years, we assign him to the trial or unstable job status.

Seventeen of the respondents were classified as having trial-stable career patterns; indicated that they had worked at a trial job, one of short duration, before obtaining their present job, at which they have been employed for at least three years, which represents the conventional career family. These are considered to be stable or secure patterns. It is assumed that a worker having been employed at or working in a particular situation for a period of three years becomes more competent and gains a feeling of ease. He feels as if he is really a part of the given situation, and is not as likely to quit his job in haste.

Six of these teachers were found to have stable-trial-stable career patterns, meaning that they, at one time, had held a job for at least three years, secured another which was held a short time before securing the present job, which has been held at least three years. These patterns are also secure ones, since these respondents have held their present jobs at least three years. Thirteen other respondents possessed "stable" patterns, indicating that they had each held jobs in their work history for at least three years. These patterns show the greatest degree of security and stability. Only one respondent, the initial-trial-stable pattern, indicating that this individual held one or more jobs before completing his professional training, had held one job of short duration after completing his training and before he secured his present position which has been held for three years or more. All of the above described patterns are classified as stable or secure patterns. Thirty-six, or about seventy-one per cent of these teachers, show stability and security in their work patterns, while the remaining sixteen, or twenty-nine per cent exhibited insecure patterns.

Career Families

In order to get a clearer picture of the career patterns of these high school teachers it is necessary to construct career family categories through which the varied job sequences may be analyzed. According to Miller and Form, there are six types of career families, each of which defines a different kind

of career formation or movement. Each of these families contain major defining characteristics. They are:

1. Early entrance into a stable job: Stable
2. The "normal" job progression to a stable job:
Conventional
3. Return to a trial job after attaining stability through the conventional pattern: Unstable
4. Beginning of the trial work period -- mostly young workers: Single Trial
5. Return to a trial job after a quick attainment of a stable job: Disestablished
6. Consecutive trial jobs with no stable jobs as yet attained: Multiple Trial

Differences in age, sex, occupational mobility and job stability may be associated with these career families. By setting up a classification of career families it is easy to note how various job sequences reflect occupational stability and security. The attempt to secure a measure of occupational security required the setting up of an operational definition. It was necessary to assume that a worker on a job which he has held for less than three years is still relatively unstable and insecure. Either he may decide to quit or his employer may decide to remove him by transfer, promotion or dismissal. It was further assumed that occupational stability was indicated

when a worker remained more than three years on a given job and that this stability would likewise reflect a relatively high degree of occupational security.¹ Of the six career families, the stable and the conventional might be regarded as reflecting a high degree of occupational security. The unstable, single trial, disestablished, and multiple trial patterns could be assumed to contain a high degree of occupational insecurity.

By examining Tables 15 and 16 we note that thirty-seven of the Ballard-Hudson High School teachers had stable or conventional patterns. This means that about seventy-one per cent of this sample enjoy a high degree of job security and stability.

Thirty-seven, or about 71 per cent of the Ballard-Hudson High School teachers had stable or conventional patterns, which indicate a high degree of security and stability. Fifteen, or about 29 per cent of these teachers had insecure patterns. As a group, the males exhibited a higher degree of security and stability than the females since twenty or about 80 per cent of the males were found of the stable or conventional status, while only ten, or about 37 per cent of the females had stable or conventional patterns. This is as would be expected, since our data have suggested that women tend to accept teaching as a secondary career, choosing marriage as the primary.

Among the twenty males who had achieved the stable or

¹

Ibid., p. 712

TABLE 15

CAREER FAMILY DISTRIBUTION OF TWENTY-SEVEN BALLARD-
HUDSON HIGH SCHOOL FEMALE TEACHERS, MACON,
GEORGIA, 1952, SHOWING CAREER FAMILY
AND JOB SEQUENCES BY SEX AND AGE

Career Family	Age	Job Sequence
Stable	43	S-S-S-S-S
	48	T-S-S
	30	S-S
	33	S-S-S
	41	S-T-T-T-S
	34	S-T-T-S
Conventional	27	T-T-T-T-S
	46	T-T-T-S
	29	T-S-T-T-T-S
	25	T-S
	57	T-S-S
	27	T-T-T-T-S
	45	T-S-S
	32	T-T-S
	30	T-T-T-S
	28	T-S
	35	T-T-S
Unstable	30	T-S-T
Single Trial	23	T
	29	T
	24	T
Disestablished	25	S-T
	33	S-T-T
	45	S-S-S-T
Multiple Trial	36	T-T-T-T-T-T
	25	T-T
	29	T-T

TABLE 16

CAREER FAMILY DISTRIBUTION OF TWENTY-SEVEN BALLARD-
HUDSON HIGH SCHOOL MALE TEACHERS, MACON,
GEORGIA, 1952, SHOWING CAREER FAMILY
AND JOB SEQUENCES BY SEX AND AGE

Career Family	Age	Job Sequence
Stable	39	S-T-S-S
	28	S
	35	S
	36	S
	25	S
	30	S
	33	S
	45	S
	44	S-S-S
	34	S-S
	29	S
	40	S-S-T-T-S
	32	S-T-S
Conventional	42	T-T-T-T-S
	29	T-S
	34	T-T-S
	44	T-S-S
	35	T-T-S
	29	I-T-T-T-T-S
	38	T-S-T-S
Unstable	36	T-T-S-T
Single Trial	24	T
	22	T
Disestablished	35	S-T-T-T
	24	S-T
Multiple Trial	--	--

conventional status, the youngest was twenty-five years of age and the oldest was forty-five years of age. Among the females, the oldest was fifty-seven and the youngest was twenty-five.

We note that only two of these teachers had patterns which would conform to the unstable career family. Five of them held the single job status, while five held the disestablished status and three held the multiple trial status. Viewing these results by sex we note that seventeen, or about 63 per cent of the female teachers held stable or conventional status as compared with twenty, or about 80 per cent of the males who held similar status. One each of the males and females held the unstable status, while three females held the single trial status as compared with two male members holding such status. Also three females held the disestablished status as compared with two males possessing the same. Three females held the multiple trial status, while none of the males held such status. Ten, or about 37 per cent of the females held career patterns which indicated a high degree of insecurity and instability as compared with only five, or about 20 per cent of the males who exhibited insecure patterns.

On the basis of data in Table 17, one would surmise that men, after the trial work period, soon achieve a high degree of stability; they display early entrance into a stable job, the normal job progression to a stable job, and in a few instances, return to a trial job after attaining stability.

Twenty-seven per cent of the male subjects reported having

TABLE 17

DISTRIBUTION OF JOB PATTERNS, BY SEX AND AGE, OF FIFTY-TWO
BALLARD-HUDSON HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS, MACON, GEORGIA, 1952

Age Range	Job Sequences or Patterns*														Total
	T		T-S		I-T-S		S		S-T		S-T-S		T-S-T		
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
20-24	-	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	5
25-29	-	3	1	5	1	-	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	14
30-34	1	-	1	2	-	-	2	2	-	1	1	1	1	-	12
35-39	-	1	2	-	-	-	3	-	1	-	1	1	-	1	10
40-44	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	5
45-49	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	5
50-54	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
55-59	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Total	2	9	4	9	1	-	9	2	3	3	4	3	2	1	52

*

Job Sequences or Patterns I - Initial Period
 T - Trial Period
 S - Stable
 M - Male
 F - Female

worked within the trial work period, or for a period of three years or less at one position, whereas 69 per cent of the male subjects reported working within the stable-work period, or beyond the period of three year work experience. Forty-three per cent of the females reported yet working within the trial work period, or within the three year period of work experience; 10 per cent reported being on their initial job, the first full-time work experience, and 47 per cent reported working within the stable work period, or beyond the period of three year work experience.

The evidence in the case of this sample of teachers suggests that such factors as the establishment of a career, household status, the desire for social approval, et cetera, oppose the flow of male teachers from one occupation to another. They, therefore, tend to become stable in one at early middle age. These factors not only condition the career pattern, but individual concern over the profession in which they feel some degree of satisfaction. More male than female subjects indicated stability of work experience, before and after thirty.

Chapter III has been concerned with three major objectives: The examination of the motivations that affected entrance into and continuation in the teaching profession, a description of the selected characteristics of the teaching career, and the analyzing of job history data.

Of the seven major reasons cited for entering the profession, love for children was cited twelve times or nearly one-

fourth of the total. The desire to make a contribution to the race was cited almost as frequently, eleven times. Only four or about one in twelve of the subjects stated financial rewards as their reason for entering the profession. Only one respondent gave evidence of any appreciable vertical mobility, while there was evidence of extensive horizontal mobility. The majority of these teachers have encountered significant problems of adjustment, the most of which occurred during the early years of teaching. About half of them began their teaching careers in rural areas. The majority of this group stated that teaching had not affected their status position, while a little less than one-third felt that their status positions had been enhanced. None of them felt that they had lost status.

Upon the examination of the job histories of these teachers many varied career patterns were discovered. About seventy percent of the population were characterized by a high degree of stability. There was also evidence of considerable shifting of job mobility before the age of forty. More of the males than females had achieved stable job classifications. However, the females who had achieved the stable job status tended to reach it before the males.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This research was made in order to (1) obtain data descriptive of the career patterns of a selected sample of high school teachers; (2) to examine characteristic adjustment problems pertinent to their careers; and (3) to obtain some measure of job security and satisfaction.

This investigation of the career patterns of fifty-two teachers of Ballard-Hudson High School, Macon, Georgia, revolved around these questions:

1. What are the age, sex, marital status, and socio-economic characteristics of the subjects?
2. What is the nature of their job histories, in reference to occupational mobility, job security, and length of service?
3. What are some of the characteristic features of occupational selection?
4. What are the expressed factors which indicated entrance motivations; to enter into and remain in the teaching profession?
5. What compensations and rewards do they anticipate?
6. What relationships are there between specific socio-economic characteristics and career patterns and adjustment to the profession?

The fifty-two subjects used in this study involved twenty-five males, whose ages ranged from twenty-two to forty-seven years, and twenty-seven females, whose ages ranged from twenty-three to fifty-eight years. Fifteen, or thirty per cent of the total sample were in the age ranges of twenty to twenty-four,

forty to forty-four, and forty-five to forty-nine, respectively; that thirty-six, or nearly three-fourths, or sixty-nine per cent of the total sample ranged in age from twenty-five to thirty-nine. It is therefore reckoned that the approximate number of teachers entering the profession tend to be comparable to the number of the teachers who are leaving the profession, being retired, or for other purposes. The age range further indicated that for both sexes, and especially the males, the age range in the profession remains fairly constant, that is, apparently at middle age there was a majority of the subjects. Although men enter into the teaching profession in small numbers and comparatively later than women, they remain in the profession in greater numbers at middle age.

Exactly 50 per cent of the subjects are married, whereas approximately 42 per cent of the subjects were never married, while the remaining 8 per cent were either divorced or widowed.

The educational attainment of these fifty-two subjects compared favorably with that of their fathers, since both groups claimed the sixth grade as the lowest grade level, while higher grade levels, which indicated that of graduate status, was attained by some. All of the fifty-two subjects had completed at least four years of college training, and more than half have begun graduate training, while 42 per cent of the fathers had attained grade levels beyond the freshman college level. Only 4 per cent of the fathers had the maximum of sixth or seventh grade training.

These data indicate that not only does the status of the family influence the attainments of its sons and daughters, but that this status provides the siblings with considerable support and incentive for educational advancement.

There was a marked degree of occupational mobility visible in the career patterns of the subjects. This mobility was characteristically of horizontal nature, and found to be more prevalent among younger teachers. It was found that the teachers in this study held from one to eight jobs for one to twenty-seven years, causing the average number of jobs for the group to be about four. The average number of years taught is about 1.3. With reference to stability and security, it was also found that about half of the fifty-two subjects were categorized as having stable patterns.

From the responses given on occupational entrance motivations, the following were suggestive trends; that children of fathers of various occupations often entered the identical occupations in great numbers.

These subjects also indicated that they entered into the profession, and have remained because of their desire to make a contribution to the profession, as well as for the concern for the students whom they teach. Others indicated a desire to inject into the profession certain values as: integrity, honesty, and devotion. Very few indicated monetary returns or rewards as major influences.

Closely associated with the chosen career pattern was the

career orientation defined in terms of the initial work period, that period during which the worker seeks his first job: during the span of school enrollment, and continuing until he has terminated his education; the trial work period, that period of the first full-time work experience, and the stable work period, that period in which the worker finds a feeling of belonging, and remains on the same job for three years, and more.

The job sequences of this group indicate that only one subject began his initial work on a different level, but soon achieved a high degree of stability for reasons of personal satisfaction and adequate adjustment; that approximately eighteen, or thirty-five per cent of the workers display early entrance into a stable job status. There are further indications that there is a normal job progression to a stable job, and in a few instances many workers return to a trial job after attaining stability. As a group, the males exhibited a higher degree of security and stability than the females, since twenty, or about 80 per cent of the males were found to have stable or conventional careers, whereas only ten, or about 37 per cent of the females had stable or conventional careers.

Many of these subjects also indicated that they had been confronted with problems of adjustment during their teaching careers, the majority of which occurred during the early stages of these careers. Such problems included: (1) poor housing; (2) small classroom space; (3) little or no supplementary teaching materials; and sometimes (4), little cooperation from the

supporting trustee board which is common to small rural schools. In consequence, the mobility among these subjects has further been as a result of dissatisfaction with the social class composition of the school populations.

The rewards of these subjects have been defined in terms of having the satisfaction that a good teaching job has been done; having given to the profession ideals of a value-system which makes for a more abundant life for those students who later enter into the profession, at whatever level it operates.

The materials presented indicate some of the salient characteristics of Negro teachers as a group in the setting, and suggest the operation of selective factors. It was shown that these teachers tend to be concentrated in what is conventionally thought of as the most productive age groups. On the whole, they were a relatively young group. The median age was found to be about thirty-three. The median number of years taught was about ten. The population was about equally divided by sex, including twenty-five males and twenty-seven females. The age differences between the sexes did not appear significant, however, a slightly larger proportion of the female teachers were older than forty.

This research has demonstrated the existence of considerable horizontal mobility which occurs at this level among this selected group. It is suggested that other studies be made of other occupations, with great emphasis being placed upon the examination of vertical mobility. Further research might also

explore, in detail, the relation between the horizontal mobility discussed here, and the vertical mobility more prominent in many other occupations.

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APPENDIX A

No. _____
 Interviewer _____
 Date _____

OCCUPATIONAL HISTORY

I.

- (1) Name _____ (2) Relation to head of household _____
 (3) Residential address _____
 (4) Business or work address _____
 (5) Sex _____ (6) Age _____ (7) Race _____ (8) Marital Status _____
 (9) Age at marriage _____ (10) No. of children _____ (11) Age of _____
 (12) Age of youngest _____ Oldest _____
 (13) Occupation at marriage _____ (14) Occupation now _____
 (15) Source of income _____ (16) House type _____
 (17) Highest academic work completed: (a) elementary _____
 (b) high school _____
 (c) college _____ (d) graduate _____ (e) trade _____ (specify) _____
 (18) Length of residence at present location _____
 (19) Places lived formerly:

	(a) Place	(b) Length	(c) Place	(d) Length
(i) _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
(ii) _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
(iii) _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
(iv) _____	_____	_____	_____	_____

(20) Birthplace of respondent _____ (a) Rural _____ (b) Urban _____

(21) Birthplace of parents:

(a) Father _____ (i) Rural _____ (ii) Urban _____
 (b) Mother _____ (i) Rural _____ (ii) Urban _____

(22) Family of Orientation Sex Age Grade Completed Occ.

1.	_____	_____	_____	_____
2.	_____	_____	_____	_____
3.	_____	_____	_____	_____
4.	_____	_____	_____	_____
5.	_____	_____	_____	_____

II

(1) <u>Jobs Held</u>		(2) <u>Industry</u>	(3) <u>Place</u>	(4) <u>Dates</u>		(5) <u>Duration</u>		(6) <u>Reasons for leaving</u>	(7) <u>Income Rate</u>
(a) Full-time	(b) Part-time			Began	Left	Yr.	Mo.		
1.									
2.									
3.									
4.									
5.									
6.									

APPENDIX B

PERSONAL DATA CONCERNING TEACHERS
(Schedule)

1. List the number of years you spent in rural area Urban
2. Give name and location of high school attended _____
3. When did you complete high school? _____
4. Who or what influenced you to go to college? _____
5. Give name and location of college attended? _____
6. How did you finance your education? _____
7. Did you take part in any collegiate activities? Yes No
8. What was your major field of concentration? _____
9. When did you complete your collegiate training? _____
10. What was your first occupation, job or professional work after leaving college? _____
11. How long have you taught school? _____
12. Why did you choose teaching as a career? _____
(a) financial returns (b) social prestige (c) pleasant working conditions (d) lack of something more appealing
(e) love for children (f) to make contribution to race
(g) to make contribution to profession
13. Do you plan to remain in the profession? Yes No
14. Do you enjoy teaching? Yes No
15. Would you rather teach than to engage in any other work?
16. Are you satisfied with your present position Yes No
17. By becoming a teacher was your social position altered?
18. Has teaching affected your personality? Yes No
(a) causes you to be more sociable Yes No
(b) causes you to be more aggressive Yes No
(c) causes you to be more generous Yes No
(d) causes you to be more impatient Yes No
(e) causes you to be more sensitive Yes No
(f) causes you to be more inhibited Yes No
(g) causes you to be more patient Yes No
(h) causes you to be more optimistic Yes No
19. With what organizations are you affiliated? _____
20. What major problems confront you as a teacher? _____
21. As a successful teacher, how do you rate yourself?
(a) below average (d) efficient
(b) average (e) very efficient
(c) above average

APPENDIX C

INSTITUTIONS ATTENDED BY FIFTY-TWO BALLARD-HUDSON
HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS

Colleges	Number
Fort Valley State College	20
Talladega College	2
Tennessee State University	1
Morris Brown College	5
North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College	2
Albany State College	3
Bennett College	1
Atlanta University	1
Tuskegee Institute	3
Spelman College	2
Hampton Institute	1
Bluefield State College	1
Morehouse College	3
Savannah State College	1
Alabama State College for Negroes	1
Paine College	1
New York University	1
Shaw University	1
Fisk University	2
Total	52

APPENDIX D

Autobiographical Sketch - Sample A

I was always aware that I would have to work before the completion of the four years of college I than hoped to attain. And further, to become a teacher had always been of little or no interest to me, for I had always toyed with the idea of being a secretary, but then upon the completion of junior college with very little stenographic training, I was baffled and faced with the problem of: what will it be now? Fortunately, I was named as a fourth and fifth grade teacher, upon the recommendation of a former classmate, in an elementary school at Albany, Dougherty County, Georgia.

After serving for two successful school terms, I accepted work at the junior college where I had previously attended. The difference in salary was only five dollars, but after four years, I was given a leave of absence to study in order to complete my college training. I returned to the institution for work as registrar wherein the duties were more nearly associated to that which I had desired in the first place; that of becoming a secretary or the handling of certain clerical duties. Presently, I am employed as an elementary teacher where I have served very pleasantly for four years.

Autobiographical Sketch - Sample B

At times it is my belief that marital difficulties fostered the beginning of my teaching career. I was quite an adult, in the latter twenties, when I decided to enter into college with the determination of completing any prescribed course for a bachelor's degree, with no idea and seemingly no concern over what I was to do with it later.

Very near to the end of my senior year, I met the principal of a nineteen-teacher elementary school which was then in dire need for more teachers. I was given a teaching position at the first grade level. I have completed four years of teaching experience and have had two jobs. I am now faced with one of two problems: either find a job within my field of Social Science, or return to school and pursue additional background courses in elementary education if I am to receive full compensation for teaching, which I have learned to enjoy very much.

Autobiographical Sketch - Sample C

I have always wanted to become a teacher. Perhaps that was due to the fact that so many of my relatives were and still are in the profession. Further, during my early high school years, I was favorably impressed or influenced by certain teachers in one or several ways by which I began to plan my career as a teacher. I don't remember if I chose or wanted to be a teacher of high school or college students, or if I preferred younger children as well.

Toward becoming a teacher, I was a little impatient with the manner in which I had to attend school, because of limited funds, but I managed to do so principally in summers and through correspondence. When I finally finished it was truly a dream come true: to be a qualified teacher. I am enjoying the profession very much, and am diligently attempting to impress someone in my class to want to be a teacher also.

Autobiographical Sketch - Sample D

I was a "country girl," destined to become a school teacher. I was borned in Jones County, approximately seven miles from the city of Macon, proper. The school which I first attended was held in the Community Baptist Church, of which my father was chairman of the deacon board.

After the completion of the prescribed course, such as it was, my family was so pleased at my progress, which was now above and behind that completed by any other of my four brothers and one other sister, that I was sent to Macon to attend the Baptist Junior College for high school. It was here that I earned the high school diploma with first honor, and later attended another state-operated junior college.

Because of this rapid progress it was commonly understood that my position as a "country school teacher" was already waiting me. To date I have managed to finish the remaining two years of college by attending summer school for approximately seven consecutive summers, and have been steadily teaching for fourteen years.

Autobiographical Sketch - Sample E

My teaching position was assured me, even at the early high school level because of the position my father had attained as principal of the largest high school in a fairly large Georgia city.

I suppose that it must have been my fortune and my good luck, however, that I merited the good grades that I had never found too much difficulty in earning by my own efforts, from elementary through senior college.

Even the interest and concentration that I had displayed in a certain field -- Home Economics -- is to be accounted for by the gift of a beautiful sewing done by my mother. Consequently, I made it known, very early after I had reached college, my intentions toward that direction and was so instructed.

Upon graduation from the department, I returned to my home where I was handed a contract for work, at the second largest high school, almost simultaneously with my arrival.

And although my profession was of no particular calling of my own, I have enjoyed the six years that I have taught.

Autobiographical Sketch - Sample F

I was borned a twin into a happy family of twelve children. Often I wonder how my parents, although separated, managed to get most of us through the junior college level. After that, I became a beautician and earned a fair salary from it.

Seemingly, almost overnight, I was married, had a fine daughter, and was divorced too quickly for me to fully realize what had happened. At this stage, certainly I was faced with what to do next, since a small-scale beautician such as I was, did not earn enough to take care of the immediate needs of my daughter and myself very adequately.

Finally, a friend encouraged me to begin to attend school again, that is for Saturday classes, alone. After about a year, I began to find favor in it as the time spent in the preparation of my lessons did keep my mind off of more pressing things.

To my delight, an extensive building program was begun at my home town; consolidation of smaller schools was then occurring rapidly, more teachers were needed, and more chances of being employed was at hand, and I was among the lucky ones to be hired.

In this profession I have learned to enjoy it very much and sometimes I am made to believe that after all, teaching might have been my "calling."

Autobiographical Sketch - Sample G

After high school, it was generally accepted that I would most certainly go away to college since I was the daughter of a small-town minister.

And so, it was no surprise to the public when I left to attend a Baptist school, although I was aware of the fact that I would have to work part-time by playing for general assemblies, and at any other times when the school choral director would be unable to attend.

Because I was a work student also meant that I would not complete my work with a June class, but rather in the Summer, and so I did. At this time, I still had not made any plans relative to the future, although I had written one letter of application to a principal of a small school in another city. Because I had heard of the great demand and need for persons who could make a creditable showing at the piano, I sought work further in this area, although I will have to admit that I had no desire for teaching, itself, and yet I knew that in a small school there were no possible openings for music teachers alone.

I did not succeed in my attempt to get work because my work was not yet certified by the State Department of Education. Meanwhile, I married, and when my husband was sent to Korea, where he still is, I was suprisingly offered work near my hometown. I enjoy it very much.